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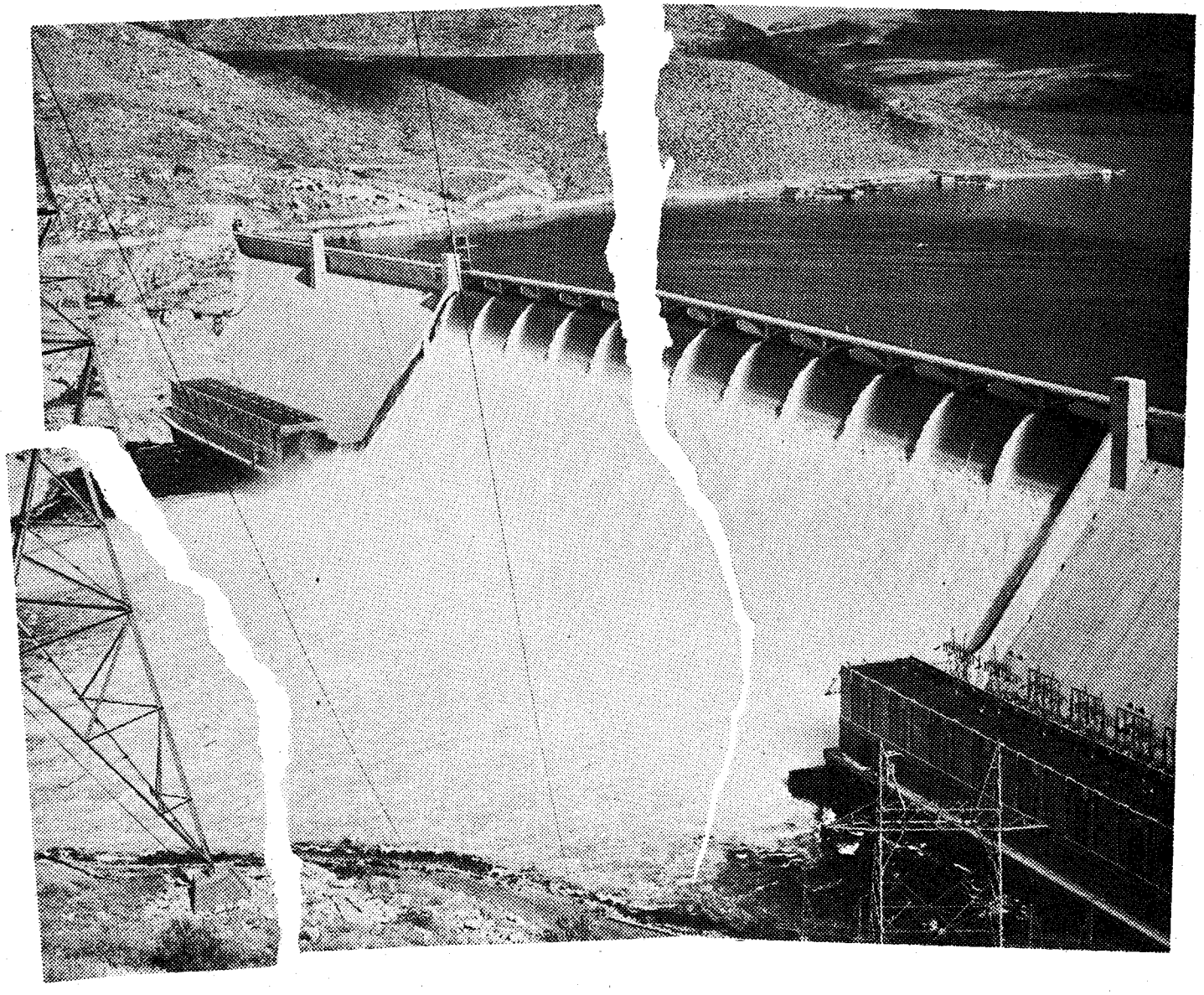
Why We Have Poor Teachers

New Republic



BREAK-UP!

The Eisenhower Plan for Public Power

by Leland Olds

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

Somehow we can't get used to opening the morning paper and finding a "treat-em-rough" speech by Dulles in column 1, and an announcement of a new Air Force cutback in column 8. This is the reverse of Teddy Roosevelt's "speak softly and carry a big stick." Dulles has threatened Chinese Reds with all-out war and simultaneously intervenes aggressively in the West German election. Meanwhile — the Air Force has canceled plans to buy another 965 airplanes. To save money the Air Force is dropping 15,000 reserve officers from active duty, including 2,200 pilots. And the Air Force (with appropriations cut $5 billion) seems to have reverted to the old "balanced force" concept in which it gets a roughly equal division of the defense dollar with the other two services instead of proceeding on the "air-atomic priority" basis which places air power, with A-bombs, in first place.

We can't help shivering a bit. Just suppose Dulles some day makes a slip; just suppose some day a trigger-happy Communist starts the war nobody wants. It should be realized that careful, competent experts believe the US is taking great risks. Ex-Air Secretary Joseph Finletter is nobody's fool, he solemnly warns in the current *Atlantic* that we have deliberately built into our future a period of weakness from 1955 to 1957. In 1951, with the goal of 143 wings, we dropped the old theory of a "balanced force"; it was decided that the A-bomb, on wings, required air-atomic priority in the kind of incandescent war that might be over in a week. What now? The Air Force slash, plus the way the Defense Department is operated, puts us back in the old, compromise, "balanced force" era again. The deep cutback, Finletter recalls, was ordered before the new Eisenhower Joint Chiefs of Staff were in office. Since the Finletter piece went to print the Russians have exploded their first hydrogen bomb. . . . So let's take a stiff policy to Russia, threaten Red China with quick retaliation and tell our Allies that we will go it alone if necessary!

One of the obstacles to Korean peace might be described as psychological blockage. The US did not win the physical war in Korea but cannot bring herself to admit it—it may easily prolong an old war or even produce a new war. What exists in Korea now is a deadlocked stalemate in which we have fallen short of our goal of a united nation, but politicians sullenly won't admit we haven't won and keep threatening the enemy with annihilation unless it behaves like a conquered country.

Eisenhower's Administration deserves support and sympathy in the painful but necessary task of ending the bloody struggle there without getting the United States sucked further into Asia, while Russia laughs at us. But it is hard to give support to an Administration that seems afraid to lay the true situation before the people or to help in formulating realistic public opinion. To win concessions from our adversary we must, unfortunately, make concessions ourselves; we only alienate our allies when we adopt an inflexible and stiff-necked attitude against future trade with Communist countries, against allowing China into the UN and against attempts at broadscale settlements in Asia.

The correspondent of a big press association here last week wanted a news story for a dull Monday so he stressed the split in Democratic ranks prior to the party's Chicago rally September 14-15, with emphasis on Southern defections. The story was a success and perfectly correct in all ways except for the implication that there was something new in the situation. Democrats are still merrily feuding among themselves and a lot of the Southern Bourbons who bolted to Eisenhower last year are—naturally enough—not attending the Chicago rally. And a great many of the liberal Democrats are not particularly sorry that they are staying away. Sooner or later the South is going to have a two-party system and the conservatives will move over to the GOP, or some right-wing party, where they belong. FDR won election four times independent of the South (which nevertheless gave him continued loyal support) and it would be suicidal for the Democratic Party to subordinate itself to the regional Southerners.

Efforts were made last week to indicate a breach between Truman and Adlai Stevenson on this and other issues. Everything that we know personally on the matter contradicts that theory. We haven't seen Truman's Labor Day speech as this is written, but contrary to other speculators on the subject who forecast a typical, "give-'em-hell" address (cf. *Newsweek*) we would expect a reaffirmation of faith in the new Deal and Fair Deal, an expression of anxiety over defense cutbacks, a new statement of Democratic sympathy for organized labor, a tone of responsibility and restraint without personal reference to Eisenhower and, very likely, a glowing tribute to Stevenson. When you read this you'll know whether we were right.

Notes: Nobody with a sensitive ear can travel round America these days without noting disturbing signs of increased isolationism—attacks on the UN almost came to a pitched battle at the Legion convention; note, too that the ultra-respectable American Bar Association defied Dulles and reaffirmed faith in the Bricker Amendment to hamstring Presidential treaty-making powers. . . . Welfare Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby mildly asked the medical profession to help formulate plans to protect American families from financial loss of "catastrophic illness"; the response?—AMA president Edward McCormick indignantly denounced the idea that any family need suffer "catastrophic" financial loss by illness; help is always available he says and contrary ideas, he implies, are subversive. . . . McCarthy is increasingly emerging as a rampant, go-it-alone, imperialist; a field where his gifts should attract many. . . . The Chinese and Russian Communists look on the Yalu River as a sensitive frontier. They cannot give up claims in Korea, as in Formosa. They will try first at the Political Conference to get us out. We will ask—what are the guarantees? If agreement seems possible no one here will bet that we can keep China out of the UN beyond March.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Bold New Pinch—Housing

VETERANS, other home buyers, and builders are the first to feel the pinch of the Eisenhower Administration's "hard-money" policy. Builders are warning that a virtual paralysis has been created in the small home loan market. The reason for this, they claim, is a sit-down strike by big bankers who find more lucrative investments elsewhere under the new program.

Breaking with the GOP over the new tight-money policy were the two largest real-estate organizations. The National Association of Home Builders bluntly advised its 26,000 members to stop building any houses unless they receive "firm, preferably written" commitments of financial backing. The National Association of Real Estate Brokers backed the NAHB stand "completely" and said "it would certainly be prudent for a builder now to know where his money is coming from. No one is crying wolf. No one is exaggerating. This mortgage situation is very tough."

Meanwhile, the Administration was apparently ignoring these pleas. The government said it expected private lenders to supply "a larger proportion of mortgage funds, reducing the need of government purchases."

An NAHB official, shown the government's statement, said: "They must be really dreaming." The builders claim that the solution to the present mortgage-money crises "must be found through administrative channels." That is, increased mortgage purchases by the Federal National Mortgage Association.

The real-estate men were venting their disappointment over failure of an Administration move last May. At that time, the one-half percent raise on VA and FHA loans was hailed by many as certain to give borrowers a better chance to get the government-insured loans. But the number of GI-loans applications approved by the VA has not increased. Figures for July, when 25,453 applications were approved, actually dropped from 26,000 in April, the month immediately before the interest-rate increase. T. B. King, director of the VA's loan-guaranty service, said the primary cause for the decline has been the demand for other types of investments bringing higher interest rates. At the same time total home construction dropped contra-seasonally from 110,000 starts in April to 103,000 in June. VA and FHA loans accounted for about 40 percent of all home lending.

Underlying the scarcity of money for home building, as Mr. King suggests, was the tempting windfall from government bonds and corporate securities. Without turning a hand the bankers received a bonus from the Eisenhower Administration when the US Treasury increased the rate on certain of its bonds. This act, which was the signal for a general interest increase, may add several billions of dollars a year to the taxpayers bill if the plan to refund the rest of the government debt at the higher rate is carried out.

The bankers neglect brought forth the solemn warning from NAHB that if funds are provided for industrial expansion but not for workers homes "the repercussion will be felt economically, socially and politically." They said "do we have to learn all over again the painful lessons of the 1930s?"

I've read about the Kinsey report. Am I big enough to know about the H-bomb?

The White House, worried over voter reaction to this adventure in finance, has reacted by establishing a new "sales department" headed by Seattle mortgage banker, Walter Williams, the Under-Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Williams, whom President Eisenhower privately calls "the greatest salesman in the world," has not yet disclosed how he will convince veterans, other home buyers and builders that the new "hard-money" policy is for their own good.

Defense or Dodge

WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER took over the White House three major reports lay on the top of his desk. All three were drawn up by experts; all recommended a large-scale civil and continental air-defense program.

Eisenhower postponed any decision, appointing his own commission under an old friend, Maj.-Gen. Harold Bull. Now General Bull, backed up by the President's scientific advisers, has endorsed the earlier reports and recommended a program costing $6 billion a year for the next six years. For this sum, experts believe significant protection can be achieved.

Meanwhile the Eisenhower Administration has committed the Republican Party and the nation to two utterly opposed courses of action; a reduction of the Air Force share in the military budget and economy that calls for budget and tax cuts and no increase in the national debt.

Eisenhower can choose air defense and economy by expanding the Air Force at the expense of the Army and Navy; he can choose air defense and protect the Army and Navy by abandoning the economy drive. Or he can further delay the air-defense program. Scientists fear that he will choose the third which appears to be the easiest course. Their fear is heightened by the Administration's recent political maneuver in cutting the Air Force back by $750 million and 965 planes in order to preserve the ceiling on the national debt.

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Controlled Education

THERE ARE 1,200 privately supported universities and colleges in the US. Among these are some of the finest centers of higher education and research in the world. All are in financial trouble. While inflation has decimated the buying power of their income from investments, operating costs have soared.

Proud of their tradition and their independence, these institutions fear any federal aid which might lead to federal control. Yet, in seeking to avoid such control, they risk overwhelming indebtedness to an economic group which has shown little tolerance for nonconformity and the free play of ideas.

More and more, private schools have appealed to big business for help. Now there has been organized a Council for Financial Aid to Education which will seek donations from "business concerns, foundations and other organizations." A co-ordinating organization of this kind has long been needed and its aims, as stated, are above reproach. But the first appointments to its board of directors suggest that its appeal may tend almost exclusively toward one group. So far the board of directors includes one educator along with the chairmen of General Motors, Standard Oil (New Jersey), Armstrong Cork and the Container Corporation of America. Chairman of the board is Irving S. Olds, retired chairman of US Steel. The Council has announced it will work in close collaboration with the US Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Future appointments may broaden the orientation of the Council. Otherwise, the already disproportionate influence of one economic — and politically cohesive—group upon our universities and colleges will increase. During the past few years, ultimatums from banker-businessman-controlled Boards of Trustees, and indirect, polite, threats from potential donators have become increasingly familiar to all university administrators. The evil is not government control, but control from any source.

Testing . . . 1 . . . 2 . . . 3

IN ONE WEEK, Director Harold E. Stassen has fired 350 of the Foreign Operations Administration's 1,750 employees. Like most government agencies, FOA took a budget cut and had to "reduce in force." But the "reduction" in FOA was unlike that in any other agency, for Congress specifically revoked all Civil Service Laws in the case of FOA employees. Stassen was given absolute power to fire anyone regardless of service, record and ability.

Stassen's first step was to draw up an "aptitude test." Such tests are meaningless unless fashioned by experts who carefully check the relation of the test to the job. No such check was made. Yet the results of the test, according to Stassen, would be a major factor in determining an employee's fate. These results would be kept secret. No one was to know how he fared in comparison to others of similar rank and function.

Another major factor in determining retention or dismissal was to be the rating given an individual by his supervisor. The Classification Act of 1950 requires such ratings to be seen and signed by the employee. But such laws no longer apply to FOA and Stassen announced that the ratings would be kept secret.

Appeal? Stassen invited anyone who felt unfairly treated to write directly to him. But it is difficult to see how a letter of appeal could be written when the dismissed individual cannot cite his score and rating and compare them to those of someone not dismissed.

The test was given and the firings began. Many men with very high Civil Service status—for example, the President and four Directors of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, the Assistant Administrator for Near East and African Development — were dismissed. People with 15 to 20 years of government service found themselves without the rights government career service had promised them.

Stassen had the legal right to act as he did. More, a reduction in force was necessary, and changing policy required the elimination of some top-rank posts. But the manner in which the "reduction" was made along with the proportion of high-ranking employees involved have made Stassen's motives suspect. There is, of course, no way to be sure if Stassen plans to use his unique powers to dispense political favor. But he does seem to have fired many people

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without whose talents the FOA cannot fulfill its function. A clue to his motives will come when and if he rehires.

If Stassen wishes to be fair and to respect the principle of career service, he could set up a register of long-term and career employees from which to choose if he finds he must rehire. In the meantime, the serious morale problem he has created would be eased if he agreed to requests put forward by the American Federation of Government Employees that dismissed employees be told how their efficiency ratings, as well as the test scores which Stassen has now agreed to reveal, compare to those of retained employees, and that a three-man board of appeal be provided.

Dangerous Visitors

BARRIERS erected by the McCarran Immigration Act reportedly are causing Protestant leaders to consider shifting to Canada the World Council of Churches conference scheduled for August, 1954, at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

While the Council has not yet confirmed the change, a prominent Canadian clergyman has indicated that such a plan is being considered because of almost certain embarrassment to delegates from Iron Curtain countries.

US Protestants have frequently expressed concern over temporary entry restrictions which might make it difficult, if not impossible, for the world ecumenical conference to meet in the United States. They campaigned vigorously but unsuccessfully in the last session of Congress for changes in the Immigration Act.

Organized in August, 1948, at Amsterdam, Holland, the World Council includes 161 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations. It claims to be the most representative Christian body in the world, although the Roman Catholic Church is not affiliated. The second meeting of the Council scheduled next year at Evanston, Ill., will bring 1,300 delegates from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Co-author of the controversial immigration law, Sen. Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) branded as a "fairy tale" fears that the world church group would have to move across the border because of his legislation. He said the delegates could enter the US "as long as they mind their own business, leave when they are supposed to, and don't participate in sabotage or propaganda against this country."

He said that Attorney-General Herbert Brownell has authority under the Act to allow in "any alien otherwise not admissible for permanent residence." It was pointed out by other Capitol Hill sources that Communist members of the French Parliament may be admitted in October, 1953, to attend Washington meetings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Even though the Attorney-General may occasionally permit entry of a known Communist, Protestant leaders do not relish waiting to see how the Administration will handle each of hundreds of delegates whose views or background contravene the McCarran Act. Furthermore, they look for some hard feeling as the delegates go over the immigration hurdles with US consuls in their respective countries.

If Attorney-General Brownell and Secretary of State Dulles cannot offer the World Council some advance blanket assurance, the religious leaders will have to take their complaints to Congress again. Their chances do not appear bright if Senator McCarran is correct that President Eisenhower "will not personally spearhead a movement to alter or change the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act." Eisenhower has requested revision of the act but has presented no detailed suggestions.

Precedent

A JURY HAS awarded Dr. Alexander Solosko of Meyersdale, Pa., a $10,000 slander verdict against a Sunday School teacher who called him a Communist. The trial may set a state precedent; it is the first slander trial involving the 1951 Pennsylvania law making Communist Party membership a felony.

Seems it all began when a visiting neighbor, a lady, saw a *New Republic* on the Doctor's table and spread the word that Dr. Solosko read the *Daily Worker*. The Sunday School teacher—George Paxton, feed salesman—began busily denouncing the Doctor at church suppers and Sunday School meetings. Dr. Solosko requested an apology, was refused, and brought suit. He has instructed his attorney to give the money to charity. "I did not want a cent," said the Doctor. "I simply thought it was time someone made a stand. . . . "

The SEC—Animated

ONE OF THE NEW Security and Exchange Commissioners, J. Sinclair Armstrong, recently went to Chicago to address a group of investment bankers. After insisting that "we do not plan to relax or diminish the effort to eliminate the frauds and abuses . . . which so blackened the name and reputation of the securities and utilities industries in the '20s and '30s," Armstrong described the "ideas that motivate and animate the newly constituted Commission:"

(1) To review and study SEC regulatory processes to discover to what extent these "have gone beyond the scope and intent of the basic legislation."

(2) To get the SEC out of "areas which can be regulated by the states."

"You will be glad to know," Armstrong told the bankers "that the Commission has met . . . with the Investment Bankers Association, the National Association of Securities Dealers, the Association of Stock Exchange Firms, the New York Stock Exchange and others and that these organizations are expected to submit to us comprehensive suggestions for changes and improvements in the regulatory procedure."

The SEC was organized in 1934 to end the frauds perpetrated on the public during the preceding decades when state regulation had proven ineffectual. But Armstrong's remarks would seem to indicate that the SEC is about to come under the control of the industry it should regulate. Of the five Commissioners who direct SEC, three are Eisenhower appointments. The new Chairman Ralph H. Demmler is, like Armstrong, a corporation and finance lawyer who has represented some of the biggest firms in the country. The third new man, A. Jack Goodwin, was a member of Dillon Read, the New York investment firm, then director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, and of the Life Insurance Company of Atlanta.

Chairman Demmler not only has formally confirmed Armstrong's statements, he has invited changes in the laws he is to enforce. And any Representative or Senator interested in proposing such changes, says Demmler, will receive full co-operation.

The rules and procedures of SEC, as well as the laws it implements, can undoubtedly be modified and improved. But it will be interesting to see the nature of the changes.

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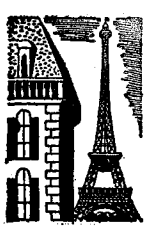
Paris Dispatch: PERE LANIEL AND PAPA JUIN

French Premier Joseph Laniel's government seems to have won two armistices on fronts of first-line importance to the security of the whole free world. On the home front it succeeded in breaking the strikes—the most widespread since 1936. On the colonial front Laniel's government succeeded in deposing Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef of Morocco

As victories, the breaking of the strikes and the deposition of the Sultan may well turn out to be worse than Pyrrhic. For the system of divide and conquer, which was used to achieve them, can be really effective only when the right enemies are conquered, and when future and worse divisions among friends are not invited by temporary expedients.

After twice publicly refusing to negotiate with the strikers, Laniel changed his tactics. He let representatives of a Right-Center party in his coalition, the Catholic MRP (Popular Republican Movement) make a deal between the government and two of the three big groups of labor unions—the anti-Communist FO *(Force Ouvriere),* dominated by the Socialists, and the Catholic CFTC (French Confederation of Christian Workers). The agreement was undoubtedly made in good faith. Important promises of economic and social justice, contrasting with the position of a whole series of governments of the Right, were made.

But there also were striking ambiguities in the agreement. And the goal of the extreme Right—to split the free unions away from the Communist-dominated CGT (General Confederation of Labor)—seemed to have been achieved. Hence, it seems plain that whether the anti-Communists will strengthen their hold over labor, or whether the Communists will in the long run profit from the division, depends on whether the government effectively carries out the promises made through the MRP.



Unfortunately there is little in Laniel's record or recent conduct to suggest that he understands either the problem or its grave implications. Farther to the Right than either Antoine Pinay or René Mayer or, for that matter, any other French premier since the war—he represented the extremist Republic Liberty Party in the National Resistance Committee and is one of the richest men in the country—he treats the workers in the woefully "good, fatherly boss" manner of the mine owner in Emile Zola's novel *Germinal.* And when this manner fails—as it must—he resorts to the ugly, and equally outmoded, language of force which even his enlightened colleagues of the Right find inappropriate and ineffective. He broke off the first tentative negotiations and "ordered" the men back to work after his "kindness" had been unappreciated.

The workers did not return to their jobs. Instead, the strike movement strengthened and spread, with the full and open support of the Socialists who, in France, are in the very forefront of Atlanticist support. For the issue was plainly whether Laniel would accept labor as contributing to France's force and prestige in the world, and the social crisis as at least an element in France's test. The MRP found a formula of compromise, and it was a victory—in principle—for the workers. If the anti-Communist labor leaders who made the deal with the MRP are let down by the Laniel government, if the government does not recognize—in fact—that France's force and prestige in the world depend at least partly on an honest approach to the social crisis, the rank-and-file of the FO and CFTC may drift over to the CGT.

The test of Laniel's success will come later, when as the *Franc-Tireur* of Paris said, millions of Laniel's fellow-citizens "who ask only a minimum of appeasement and security" learn whether the "great, peaceful appeal of a huge mass of free democratic and republican workers" has been successful. If not, only the Communists will have won. There is also another, and equally grim, possibility. It is conceivable that some men of the Right may actually want the CGT to win over the overwhelming mass of French workers. Then they would be tempted to use not only "decree laws," but also the army and the police, especially the CRS (Republican Security Company), the present French equivalent of Hitler's SS, to strike repressively at the CGT, as a means of lifting what they consider the "mortgage" which the whole working class holds on the *gloire-et-grandeur* type of reactionary nationalism at home and abroad. And such surgery might slice the French people into the opposing sides of a cold civil war.

In Morocco, too, Laniel's victory depends on what comes later. For it is plain that the ardently pro-French and reactionary local chieftain primarily responsible, Pasha Thami el Glaoui of Marrakesh was merely the instrument of what such conservative Frenchmen as François Mauriac openly call a deliberate plot. "France," Mauriac says, "is not responsible. The local French officials, the representatives of big business and their accomplices in Paris are not France, though unfortunately it must seem to the whole Moslem world that France has broken its word of honor. For months the plot has developed, plain for everyone to see." And the Manchester *Guardian* says: "The affair has made it plain that the changing French governments have had little grip on affairs in Morocco compared with that exerted by high officials and business interests on the spot."

The *deus ex machina* of the reactionary coup was, according to the *Franc-Tireur* (and many other observers), Marshal Alphonse Juin, the husband of a member of one of the wealthiest North African French *colon* families. Juin's role behind the scenes over a long period has been comparable, according to the newspaper, to Francisco Franco's who prepared in Spanish Morocco the rebellion that led to the Spanish civil war.

Whether or not it is true, as many Frenchmen believe, that Juin is grooming himself for the place in France which Charles de Gaulle was too weak to seize, the effect of what has been done is likely in the long run to be disastrous to France, and since it is almost certain to be felt throughout the Arab lands—where the change in the Cherifian throne is considered illegal—it will also hurt the security of the free world.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial Why We Have Poor Teachers

SEPTEMBER brings our children back to school. With them come the familiar articles about our overcrowded schoolrooms and our growing shortage of teachers that everyone complains of, and no one does very much about.

Our children suffered from a shortage of 53,000 teachers last fall, according to the US Office of Education. The National Education Association predicts that there will be shortages of elementary-school teachers in 45 states during the next three years.

But the teacher shortage is not the only problem that should concern us. There is the further question of the quality and purpose of the education our children receive. Writing in the January 19 *New Republic*, Arthur E. Bestor noted that "an increasing number of public-school administrators and educational theorists today refuse to define the purposes of the school in terms of intellectual training." There is justification for this charge, and the truth is that the teacher shortage and the anti-intellectual bias of our high schools are symptoms of the same disease.

Whenever there are shortages of men rather than commodities, the quality as well as the quantity of men must be analyzed. Current teacher shortages are usually ascribed to a combination of factors such as the sudden increase in elementary-school enrollments, resulting from the rise in the birth rate beginning in 1940, and low teachers' salaries during a period of inflation in other parts of the economy. Such numerical shortages, however, are inextricably interwoven with quality shortages and only highlight basic deficiencies which have plagued the teaching profession for many years.

Every community can obtain enough teachers by sacrificing its standards of quality. Six percent of all teachers today—about 65,000 teachers—are employed on emergency certificates, indicating that teachers qualified according to existing standards are not available and that employment standards have been reduced.

Even more important, the original standards are pitifully low. High-school teachers are required to have at least a four-year college education. However, teachers of academic subjects such as physics or chemistry need only about two or two and a half one-year college courses to qualify for teaching certificates in their field of specialization in Wyoming, Tennessee, Ohio and many other states. This is scarcely enough to give any student a thorough understanding of a field as complex as modern physics. Moreover, only 18 states demand that elementary-school teachers possess a bachelor's degree. Mississippi, Nebraska and North Dakota require less than one year of college preparation for some teachers. According to the National Education Association only 55 percent of the nation's elementary-school teachers held a bachelor's degree in 1952. Another third had completed only two years of college. The remainder attended one year or less.

How well are the teachers trained even the short time they are in school? Many teachers' colleges are small and impoverished and their faculties, facilities and libraries are poor by any standards. In addition, even the best schools offer courses which are repetitive, lack intellectual depth and emphasize teaching methods at the expense of subject matter. Generally high-school teachers are required to take fewer courses in education than are elementary-school teachers. Yet, even prospective high-school teachers of mathematics are required to spend more time learning educational methods, practices and philosophies than learning mathematics in Arkansas, Missouri, Virginia, West Virginia and other states.

As a result, the intellectual curiosity of any bright student who happens into a teachers' college is stifled. Even worse, bright students are deterred from entering.

As far back as 1938, when there was no serious numerical shortage of teachers, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching found that teachers' college seniors showed up poorly when compared with students four years below them. Thus, on one test—a vocabulary test—18 percent of high-school seniors tested received higher scores than 48 percent of the college seniors preparing to teach in high school. The Carnegie report concluded that "the tests disclose a condition which, if made the basis of a pupil-teacher relationship, would render healthy learning difficult if not impossible for many pupils."

In 1951, 88 percent of male engineering students in their junior year and 71 percent of all college juniors tested by the Selective Service System were eligible for deferment from military service on the basis of their College Qualification Test scores. The scores measured general college ability. However, only 44 percent of the male juniors in schools of education were eligible for deferment on the basis of their test scores alone.

It is obviously impossible to have a pro-intellectual attitude in the schools if the teachers are not intellectuals and do not appreciate intellectual values. Teachers' colleges are certainly not instilling in their students a love

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of knowledge and academic scholarship. Although the students in teachers' colleges vary widely in ability, most of them are not of the caliber to develop such a love and appreciation of their subject matter on their own.

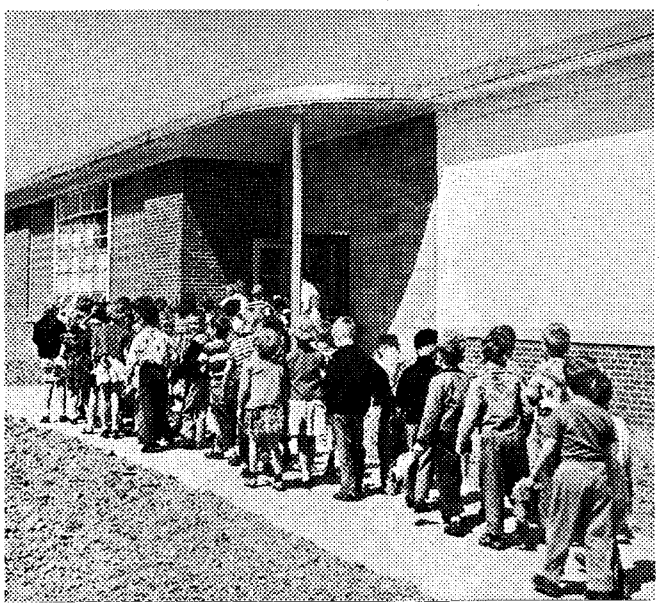
The poor quality of the students and the schools, moreover, form a vicious cycle. If only students who rank below most other college students on the basis of most objective tests of mental ability apply to teachers' colleges, the schools must lower their standards in order to survive. Even faculty members who would prefer to do otherwise, must dilute their courses. The poor quality of the courses and students, now, deters bright students from entering the schools. In a few years, this is reflected in the quality of the new teachers' college instructors, for they are generally graduates of schools of education. And so it goes.

Many high-school teachers have diluted the content of biology, English and other academic courses in the name of progressive education. Progressive education has brought about many noteworthy advances in the more effective teaching of academic subjects. It should not be confused with attempts to "water-down" courses because teachers do not fully understand the intricacies of the subjects they are supposed to be teaching or appreciate the value to a civilization of a thorough basic education for youth in history, economics and other "academic" courses. Instead of basic subject matter, teachers' colleges emphasize "democratic curricula planning," "democratic discussion groups," "life adjustment"—phrases which have been repeated so much that they have lost their meaning. Even the imaginative teacher must, first of all, know her subject matter before she can make it meaningful to her students.

Educators apologize for the de-emphasis of intellectual ideas on the grounds that mass education through the high-school level has never before been approached in this country and most American children do not have the mental ability to grasp complicated subjects. Yet, in 1948 the President's Commission on Higher Education found that almost half of American youngsters have the mental ability to complete at least a junior college education and almost a third of them could profit by advanced liberal or specialized professional education. Spotlighting the wastage of a large proportion of American brainpower, the National Manpower Council, in its current book, *A Policy for Scientific and Professional Manpower*, revealed that less than half of those capable of acquiring a college degree even enter college. Inadequate finances is only part of the explanation why these youngsters do not begin college. Poor motivation and lack of intellectual stimulation earlier in their school careers is the rest of the explanation.

This, then, is the dilemma. What can be done about it? Articles decrying anti-intellectualism will not relieve the situation because there has been no attempt to raise the quality of the nation's teachers. Emergency teaching licenses and advertisements urging former teachers to return to the profession are ineffective in overcoming shortages because they, also, side-step the basic issues.

Educators stress the inadequate teaching salaries as the major cause of all the deficiencies in the field. Certainly $3,530 per year, the average teacher's salary, leaves much to be desired. And, in fact, low salaries are important factors in both teacher shortages and the poor quality of the current supply of teachers. What bright student will enter a field that offers such poor returns after many years of service when starting salaries for new engineering graduates are $330 per month?



What the professional educators overlook, however, is that even though increased salaries are necessary, they are far from sufficient— salaries alone can not possibly cure the deep-rooted ills that beset the teaching profession. Certification requirements in many states, of course, must be raised—but only after a number of other steps, including higher salaries, have been taken.

Teachers' college standards need to be revamped. The intellectual quality of the course offerings must be raised. Bright students will not sit and listen to superficial phrases which do not offer any mental challenge. Nor do they find companionship or a stimulating atmosphere associating with the intellectual dregs of the college campus. The colleges must begin to screen applicants for admission and rigidly exclude those who do not have the requisite mental ability.

Many educators will say that it is educational suicide to reject applicants in the face of a nationwide shortage of teachers. Over any long period of time, however, more rigorous standards are the only method by which to attract to the nation's schools a sizable number of young men and women who understand and appreciate intellectual values.

This editorial was contributed by I. Peggy Moses, an economist on the research staff of the National Manpower Council of the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University.

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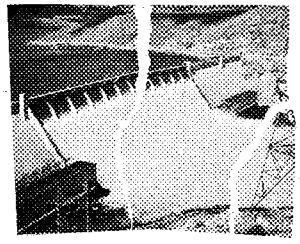
Look Out Neighbor

President Eisenhower's new policy means wasted resources and higher electricity bills.

by Leland Olds

THE STATEMENT which announced the Eisenhower Administration's new power policy is a striking example of the craftsmanship of the public-relations expert. From the early days of New England town meetings, responsible local government has been considered an American symbol. So the nation's water power is to be turned back to private power companies traveling under the homey alias of "local interests." For good reason President Truman paraphrased the Republican campaign slogan as "look out neighbor"; for the costs will be heavy for all of us.



The new statement in effect, supercedes the departmental "Memorandum on Power Policy," issued by the late Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes on January 3, 1946. It attempts to prove its orthodoxy by citations from federal public-power laws and Congressional committee reports. But it is the administrative interpretations which bear watching. Let us examine four of these.

The first major change appears in the pronouncement that "the primary responsibility for supplying the power needs of an area rests with the people locally." In general, the statement continues, the Republican Administration "will not oppose the construction of facilities which local interests are willing and able to provide in accordance with the licenses and controls of the Federal Power Commission or other regulatory bodies."

This, in effect, repeals the principle under which comprehensive federal river-basin programs have gone forward since the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933. Previous Administrations have held that river-basin resources could best serve local interests through integrated programs, financed by the government, with local public and co-operative power systems entitled to first claim on low-cost government power supply free from the strings of private monopoly.

To understand the full significance of the Eisenhower change it must be recognized that modern power supply, making the best use of available water-power resources, is no longer local in character, but rather a product of far-flung regional systems. Except in rare instances, therefore, abdication of federal responsibility for power supply means turning over the development of the country's best water resources to private-power systems or groups of systems which are essentially regional in scope, rather than to public and co-operative systems which involve true local responsibility.

The new statement of policy suggests that the federal government may still undertake certain "multipurpose projects with hydroelectric developments which, because of size or complexity, are beyond the means of local, public or private enterprise." But the language is so loose that the only commitment is to "plan and recommend" generating facilities at such projects which no doubt will be offered under license to private-utility companies.

The second major change in the Eisenhower power-policy statement refers to the preference which the law grants public and co-operative electric systems for power supply from federal hydroelectric developments. After indicating that the Interior Department will recognize this preference, the new policy statement continues: "It will be the policy of the Department to dispose of power, remaining after provision for *existing* preference customers, to privately owned public utilities serving domestic and rural customers in the area." (Italics mine.) The *Electrical World*, trade journal of the utilities, interprets this to mean that the Department of the Interior will no longer supply the expanding demands of preference customers but will make long-time contracts with electric companies for sale of the power over and above their immediate needs.

Let us look at the 1946 policy, to get a full appreciation of the extent to which Eisenhower is reversing established relationship. Secretary Ickes directed then that active assistance be given to the organization of public agencies and co-operatives in each project area. He further directed that no contracts "be made that operate to foreclose public agencies and co-operatives from obtaining power from the government project" and that contracts with privately owned companies be limited in time and "contain provisions for the cancellation or modification by the government as necessary to ensure preference to public agencies and co-operatives."

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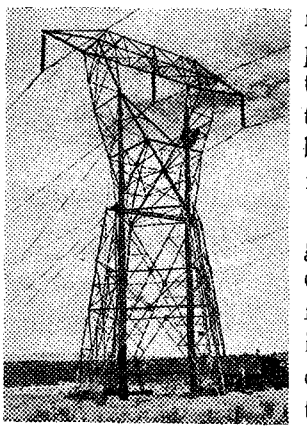
Here is frank encouragement of local public and co-operative distribution of power as a check on private monopoly, tending to bring about lower electric rates and more *widespread* use of electricity. Here is recognition that real local autonomy in the field of power supply in our modern age is possible only to the extent that the federal government takes the responsibility for making regional low-cost wholesale power supply available to public and co-operative electric systems.

The Eisenhower policy represents a complete reversal of this approach. Coupled with its near abdication of federal responsibility for developing new power supply, the new interpretation of the preference provision means that existing municipal electric systems, public-power districts, and rural electric co-operatives, *the only truly local interests,* will face a sorry choice in meeting their expanding needs. They must either depend on higher cost power supply from competing private systems or build their own small uneconomical local generating stations. Newly-organized public or co-operative systems will apparently be deprived of federal power supply altogether.



The third major change in the Eisenhower power-policy statement refers to the federal power supply for industrial loads. The statement says that:

"The department will not ordinarily undertake to dispose of power directly to consumers except to carry out existing contracts or renewals or expansions thereof, nor will it use or permit the use of the preference privilege as a means to provide power for large industrial consumers at the expense of domestic and rural customers served by either publicly or privately owned utilities." This sounds virtuous enough. But it is really almost completely adverse to the very interests which it pretends to protect. For it would not only prevent local public and co-operative systems from building well-balanced utility loads but would also repudiate the use of federal power for regional development.

Here again we find that the policy of the last 20 years, beginning with the TVA, presents a striking contrast. In his 1946 policy statement Secretary Ickes directed that public agencies and co-operatives be "encouraged to build diversified loads and markets" and that neither their operations nor their markets be "restricted by contracts or operating agreements which might serve to limit the widespread use of the power from the federal project."

The New Deal policy represented true federal-local partnership. It freed regions like the Southeast and the Pacific Northwest from the restrictive influences of private-power monopoly and built up their economies. Now the local people of these regions may well be concerned. For, as the *Electrical World* pointed out in its story on the Eisenhower power-policy statement: "This policy statement expressly denies utility responsibility for meeting electric-power needs of an area. If such a policy is applied to TVA, its expansion would fall by the wayside." That observation alone provides an eloquent characterization of the measure of Eisenhower's surrender.

The fourth major policy change is contained in the statement that the Eisenhower Administration will impose no resale rate controls in contracts with public agencies or co-operatives for the sale of electric energy. This is based on the seemingly reasonable presumption that such bodies, in selling electricity, are responsible to their customers and are fully protecting their interests. But it overlooks the broader objective of federal power policy to encourage a permanent country-wide break with the restrictive sales policy fastened on the industry by monopoly.

The Eisenhower power-policy statement goes on to imply that in contracts for sale of power to private-power companies resale-rate controls will be continued. But the interpretation put on this by the Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, addressing the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on August 21, weakens the force of even this concession to the public interest. Secretary McKay said: "Ordinarily, we will presume that the regulatory bodies of the states concerned will adequately protect the customers of these utilities, but it is conceivable that, in some instances, there may not be adequate regulation. In that event we want some recourse to avoid excessive rates."

Here we have a dilution of federal resale-rate control which endangers the whole competitive yardstick effect of the federal power program as a supplement to regulation. It turns the clock back to the pre-1933 days, when the country's electric-rate schedules varied widely in response to the management and sales policies of both private and public systems, with State Commissions either unable or unwilling to act.

The Republican Party is following the well-worked-out strategy of the nationally organized private-power companies. They won the election; they are out to gather up the spoils. We not only read this in the Administrative statement. We see the Secretary of the Interior bowing out of his Departments defense before the Federal Power Commission of the great federal Hell's Canyon power project. We hear him telling Oregon businessmen that he favors granting a license to the Idaho Power Company to go forward with a lesser development of the site. We sit in the Senate gallery as the Majority leadership, handling the Interior Department's 1954 Appropriation Bill, virtually dictates abrogation of a federal contract with Southwestern rural-electric co-operatives, on the basis of which they have invested millions in generating and transmission facilities. To members of the Senate who contended this

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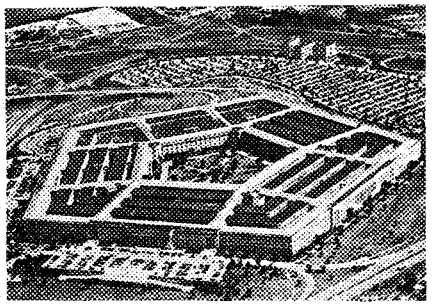
would bankrupt the co-operatives, Sen. Guy Cordon (R, Oreg.) blandly explains that private companies are ready to buy the co-operative-owned facilities.

So Eisenhower sets his power policy. Its effect will be to eliminate the possibility of comprehensive river-basin programs, to turn over the development of the country's waterpower resources to private interests, to restrict the proportion of those resources that can ultimately be developed, to deprive public and rural co-operative electric systems of the low-cost power supply which they require, to reduce the competitive influence of federal power programs in lowering the rates of private-power companies, to contribute to the present upward tendency of electric rates, and to restrict the contribution which abundance of low-cost hydroelectric power can make to an expanding economy. If this represents a foretaste of the Eisenhower policy in connection with the development of atomic power then democracy may be dominated by a gigantic private control of the very energy of our civilization. It is small wonder then that the new utility slogan is reported to be "McKay while the sun shines."



Patchwork in the Pentagon

Our $70 billion enterprise is mismanaged—what needs to be done?

by Herbert E. Gaston

THE COMMON defense has become the major problem in the life of the nation. Modern methods of destruction have made it of first importance to our existence. But our organization for defense is of the horse-and-buggy-age variety. We have not yet substituted an over-all management reflecting a comprehension of the magnitude of the problem and of the peril to our lives.

There has been something said in the last few years of the effect of military spending on the budget and the tax rate. Not so much has been said of the functioning of the organization that does the spending. It is a strange and disturbing omission. Basically the organization is what it was during the Spanish-American War; that is, it is no organization at all but a group of services carrying the ancient distinctions of land, sea and air forces, permeated and dominated from bottom to top by men educated for career service in combat and strategy.

These services are now loosely federated in the Department of Defense. The head of that Department along with nine other men and a woman, sits with the President weekly in consultation on national affairs. But the amounts he may spend make the affairs of the others seem inconsequential and even piddling. He is the biggest single buyer in the world. He is the only real customer of any consequence of the aircraft industry. He is the biggest buyer from the automotive and motor industries. He rules over the whole realm of industry and the whole realm of applied science insofar as the creation of weapons is concerned. He is the biggest customer of the textile trades and the food-processing industry, of the shipyards and of the makers of iron and steel and copper and brass and plastics and rubber.

That is, theoretically he is all these things. But his effectiveness depends upon his influence in the Department he nominally controls and his understanding of the problems that Department must meet. When he raises his voice in dispute with one of his top military advisers before a Congressional committee, as he did recently, doubt naturally arises as to whether he speaks from knowledge and good faith, and also as to what kind of an organization, if any, he heads.

The organization is a patchwork. Basically, it is a military organization made up of career military men in places of high command. It is buttressed here and there by advisory boards and consultants left over from a generalized structure thrown together during a state of war when the scope and dimensions of the war effort got clearly beyond the capacity of the military specialists so that civilians of skill, science and experience had to be enlisted to do what the military could not.

Nothing better illustrates the essential lack of organization in the Defense Department than the retention of a structure laid out along service lines—Army, Navy and Air Force—as if our problems today were the same as those of Lincoln, Grant and Farragut, but with the Wright brothers annexed. The set-up is calculated to foment unprofitable brawls as to the proper roles of air, sea and land power in the atomic age.

The Pentagon, a mammoth monument to a unity in

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defense services that does not yet exist, seems admirably suited to finding the wrong answers for important military problems. It seems not to have been suggested that national defense is a total effort; that there could consequently be functional divisions that would ignore service lines. Divided functionally, the work of the Defense organization could be greatly broadened, while at the same time the work of the military services would be narrowed to the strictly military sphere. Problems of inter-service jealousies would be greatly reduced if the services were confined to the strategic and operational fields, and were required to forego industrial planning, research into weapons, procurement, in short, all business functions.

With "the services" thus reduced to a proper field of action there seems no reason at all why the Joint Chiefs of Staff should not exercise completely effective co-ordinating authority. By the same token, there seems no reason why the military services as such should not be left to the direction of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and all authority over them removed from the Department of Defense.

Thus reduced to properly civilian functions of research, procurement and of responsibility for manpower and industrial preparations, the Department of Defense would remain the most important activity of the national government.

In the year that closed June 30, 1953, military expenditures were approximately 60 percent of a $74.6 billion budget. The proportion is likely to hold between 50 and 60 percent in the current fiscal year. The impact on the nation's economy is so terrific that this alone would seem to dictate the need of some management of the national defenses at once broader, more cohesive and more competent than we now have.

Speaking soberly at Mount Rushmore, South Dakota, on June 11, President Eisenhower said that military plans "are projected ahead for a continuing, not an intermittent, time of crises." But this is not half the story. We have before us instruments of destruction so terrible that our planning and our preparation must go far beyond anything that has been thought of in the past. We are confronted with a need for all-out national mobilization on the physical, diplomatic and economic fronts that demands all the genius of organization, knowledge and foresight we can mobilize.

In our past wars we had warning, but we were unready, either politically, economically or militarily. We met early disasters which only great reserves of strength enabled us to overcome. In each case our war machine was improvised in the face of necessity and great peril. There may not be time to improvise again.

With all proper allowance for the work of many brilliant and devoted men in the military services, there seems very little logic in adhering to the military system of command for the principal part of our defense effort. If new weapons and new means of defense are to come forward to safeguard the life of the nation, they will come through the most advanced scientific and inventive genius, coupled with research of a more intensive and far-ranging kind than any we have seen to date. Of the energy, gallantry and ability our military services have always displayed, we shall continue to have the most urgent need. But that is reason against, rather than for, loading upon them burdens that they ought not have to bear.

"What should be the elements of a proper form of defense organization?" is the question that should be the first concern of those charged with recommending remodeling of governmental organization.

Several points seem certain:

The post of Secretary of Defense is a one-man job only in a strictly administrative way. There is need of a continuing Council made up of civilian experts with an adequate staff and with power to direct research and approve schedules of matériel acquisition.

The role of the military in the business functions of national defense, including procurement as well as research, should be advisory only, and not executive.

Industrial mobilization, manpower mobilization and civilian defense should be within the scope of the remodeled Department of Defense.

The military forces should have close liaison with the enlarged civilian Department of Defense, but they should report to the President through the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The incapacity of our military command system to deal with the major problems of war is attested by all our experience since the nation's earliest history. It has become most conspicuous in the two great world wars. There is no particular point to recapitulating the blunders and the omissions of our defense pseudo-organization except to emphasize the lesson that common-sense ought to teach us anyway.

WHY should we commit such awesome responsibility to a loose federation of Army, Navy and Air Force with some civilian backseat drivers when we have no idea what will be the respective roles of these forces in future combat or whether they will have any roles at all?

Our strength has been in our ability to react to a challenge once it is actually upon us. We have had the priceless assets of great reserve power in our industrial strength and in the qualities of our people.

The armed forces have acquitted themselves with honor in combat and in command, precisely the lines in which we should expect them to display their great qualities. From the pool of the common citizenry, too, we have drawn men of such toughness of fiber and such versatility that they made splendid fighters. We owe them a profound debt. Perhaps we owe the survivors and ourselves and our children something too—the right of survival. If we do we haven't much time for quarrels between generals and admirals. We need to get about the business of really organizing our defenses.

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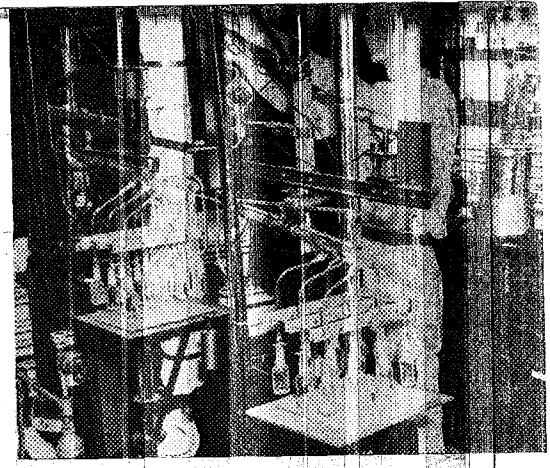
SEPTEMBER 14, 1953

Half a Somersault



Secretary Weeks concedes an error on Dr. Astin. What's good for GM is still good for the U.S.

by Scientist Q

TURNING SOMERSAULTS is not ordinarily thought of as a qualification for a member of the Cabinet, but few in Washington are prepared now to deny Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks that knack. On March 31, Weeks announced the forced resignation of Dr. A. V. Astin, Director of the National Bureau of Standards, because the Bureau had reported adversely to the Post Office on a battery dope called AD-X2. On April 17, Weeks reinstated Dr. Astin temporarily, pending studies by several committees, and retracted his prior aspersions on the Bureau's integrity and objectivity. On August 22, Weeks issued a lengthy statement in which he announced that Dr. Astin would be retained permanently.

The retention of Dr. Astin apparently settles at least for the present the issue of political tampering with the directorship of the National Bureau of Standards. Several issues, however, remain unresolved. The scope of the Bureau's research and development programs has already been seriously curtailed, first by Congressional reductions of its basic program and second by the planned transfer of its ordnance activities to the Department of Defense, which means a shifting of 60 percent of its personnel. Moreover, Weeks has indicated that he will take personal charge of the testing activities of the Bureau. This in itself may not affect either the Bureau or the public to any considerable extent, for such agencies as the Post Office and the Federal Trade Commission are responsible for protecting the public. Weeks' *caveat emptor* philosophy, however, may well bridle reasonable activities on the part of regulatory bodies. His influence on both the FTC and the Post Office in the battery dope case attests to his power over them.

In announcing the restoration of Dr. Astin to a state of grace—"he is from here on a member of my team," Weeks stated, dutifully, using the Administration's favorite word—he provided five pages of explanations. These explanations provide no clue as to why he dismissed or restored Astin. The first action was taken because Weeks, like many other members of the Administration, was convinced that the government was riddled with incompetent people unfriendly to business. (This attitude, scarcely believable in view of business prosperity during the last 20 years, has not markedly changed since February 20.) Weeks seized on the AD-X2 dope as an excuse for dismissing Astin and for propagating his *caveat emptor* views. The restoration of Astin represents a victory for public opinion on a single issue. It is not likely that it represents any change in Weeks' attitude or philosophy.

The gist of Weeks' remarks in his five-page statement is a criticism of the Bureau on three counts: "(1) Serious lack of balance in the programs of the Bureau. (2) Imperfections in the system of evaluating commercial products. (3) Inadequacies of organization and administrative control." The criticisms are not justified by facts, and what is said is largely a matter of face-saving, but two decisions are significant.

First, Weeks himself will take charge of "all nontechnical policy and procedural matters on commercial product evaluation." Strictly speaking, the Secretary of Commerce always has control of all of the Bureau's procedures and activities, and it is difficult to see what changes Weeks can make in this area. Those who know Dr. Astin do not believe that he will permit the injection of Weeks' play of the market place in the laboratory. Weeks may, however, exercise control over what requests reach the Bureau from other government agencies. (The Bureau tests commercial products only at the request of other government agencies, and the total amount of such work was, during the last year, one-twentieth of one percent of its program.) Weeks' interest in this area may affect the public far more profoundly, however, by virtue of his influence over the practices of the regulatory agencies whose protection of the public in accordance with law rests ultimately upon administrative interpretations of what and how much interest shall be taken with respect to fraudulent products and misleading advertising.

Perhaps more significant politically and economically—as well as in terms of the Bureau's own future—is the decision to "transfer from the National Bureau of Standards to the Department of Defense the major ordnance research and development activities, including staff and facilities now located at NBS," announced by Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks and Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson on July 23, 1953.

The ordnance program, which has been the object of interest to some companies since the present Administration took office ("Wilson & Weeks," *New Republic*, May 25, 1953), is concerned primarily with proximity fuzes and guided missiles. Its transfer to the Department of Defense is considered in some quarters as step one in a plan to parcel out the program to industry. While the funds involved in this research and develop-

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ment are not large—some $30 million—they represent a plum. More important, however, is the favored position which would accrue to the happy recipient of such a plum: an inside track on production contracts which run into the hundreds of millions. The Radio Television Manufacturers Association has even estimated that, including contracts of guided missiles, the sums reach into the billions: "A company getting these research and development contracts would be on the ground floor for future guided-missile production contracts expected to mount into the multi-billion dollar class within a few years."

Perhaps such speculation is premature, but neither the announced plan nor inquiries to Defense Department officials provide assurances that the program will be properly managed by the Department of Defense. The announcement gives five reasons for the transfer, not a one very convincing.

OSTENSIBLY the most convincing of the reasons is: "It *is the view of both departments that activities of* such direct importance to the operating needs of the Department of Defense should be carried out within that agency itself." The logic of this—and it is the most logical of all five reasons—is belied by the practice of the Department of Defense on a grand scale. Currently some $1.5 billion are being spent—almost all with private industry—for research and development work. So far, not a whisper has been heard of drawing these billions back into Wilson's fold. Moreover, the needs of the Department, in terms of fuze and missile programs at NBS, have been adequately met over a period of some 13 years. Whether the Department of Defense can maintain the highly competent team of scientists and engineers that pioneered in the proximity fuze and guided-missiles fields remains one of the pertinent questions. Unless a miracle happens, the answer is No. The military have never succeeded in establishing and maintaining a first-class research laboratory.

Scientists and engineers capable of doing significant creative work are not attracted by supervision at the hands of officers who seldom have adequate technical ability. In addition, the administrative procedures of the military are rigid, cumbersome and annoying—ranging from minor nuisances, like absurd restrictions on the number of telephones, to severe program handicaps, like dependence upon another echelon for supplies, which frequently means exasperating and at times costly delays. In short, the military environment has never yet proven conducive to scientific achievements of a high order over a sustained period.

This fact, well recognized by scientists and engineers, will probably mean that the key personnel of the present ordnance staff will in the course of the next year quietly make other arrangements. When this happens, the Department of Defense will have a ready-made rationalization for the second step: to transfer the program to industry, piecemeal or "lock-stock-and-barrel" as the president of American Machine & Foundry Company put it.

The three remaining reasons for the transfer, according to Weeks and Wilson, have to do with the welfare of the Bureau: (a) "It is the view of both departments that the ordnance program . . . has become so large and important in recent years as to change the character of" the Bureau. (b) "For the Bureau to continue indefinitely to perform such major services for the Department of Defense would interfere with its capacity to carry out its basic functions in the standards area which should receive increased emphasis in future years." (c) "Secretary Weeks believes that the transfer will be the means of strengthening the Bureau's basic program, an accomplishment which has been one of his primary objectives in administering the Bureau."

The proper criticism of the first of this set of odd but perhaps plausible-sounding arguments is that primary consideration must be given to national needs and not to any preconceived notion of the character of the Bureau. The undertaking and continuance of such programs is authorized by law: the Bureau's basic legislation unequivocally provides such authority, and major programs for other agencies of the government have been carried out since the first World War. In addition, the Economy Act specifically authorizes such transferred programs where staff and facilities are available within the government. Neither secretary has commented on the dangers of changing the character of, say, General Motors by virtue of the gigantic armament programs that surely must alter the character of an automobile producer.

The argument that the ordnance program interferes with the Bureau's basic functions is meaningless: the only requirement here is that an adequate budget be provided by Congress. Yet for all his interest in "strengthening" the Bureau, Weeks was unsuccessful in preventing a 26-percent cut during the current Congressional season.

The score, as far as the Bureau is concerned, may be tallied as follows: (a) the Administration has inflicted a crippling cut of 26 percent on the basic program, which totalled about $8 million during the last fiscal year. Vital research and services will have to be drastically reduced promptly. (b) Some $30 million in funds and 1,600 in staff will now be transferred to the Department of Defense. (c) As a result of the Kyes order of April 4, which in effect constitutes a policy of favoring industry, the remaining transferred fund activities emanating from the Department of Defense face a cut of at least 50 percent.

This is a novel way of strengthening the Bureau, but Weeks appears so to interpret it. "Ignorance is strength" was one of the felicitous slogans of Orwell's *Oceania.* Washington wits are quipping that Weeks' slogan is "weakness is strength."

On the face of it, the transfer of the ordnance research program appears unrelated to the battery dope controversy. The two sets of events are, in fact, related. They express the Administration's business philosophy. Weeks has made perfectly clear in his testimony on AD-X2 that

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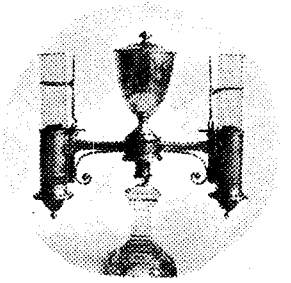
caveat emptor is the creed he intends to propagate. Wilson and Kyes have clearly indicated that their intent is to turn over many effective programs to industry, a policy consistent with the Administration's stand on power, on tidelands oil, etc.

One of the disquieting aspects of the transfer of the ordnance program is the haste of the action, which indicates it is not the judicious management decision that the announcement suggests. There is no question as to the opinion of members of the Department of Commerce and the Department of Defense that Kyes' interest in the Bureau's defense activities originated in Weeks' uncalled for letter, written early this year and reported on April 24 in the Washington *Post*, recommending that the Department of Defense review contract work at the Bureau.

It was this letter, followed by the Kyes order, which has had the effect of curtailing defense work, and it is against this background, linked in turn with the American Machine & Foundry overtures, that the decision to transfer the ordnance program must be considered. There is no evidence that any careful study was made or that decisions were properly weighed before promulgation.

Weeks' letter to Wilson was written without consultation with the Bureau. There is no evidence that Weeks had any idea of the nature of the program, other than that which he may have obtained from his industrial friends—for example, the American Machine & Foundry Company, whose representatives are known to have visited the Secretary's office, or his own company which has a sizable interest in electrical and electronic devices. And on August 22, Weeks admitted having initiated the transfer action.



The Kyes order, again, was issued without discussion with or warning to the Bureau. The decision to remove the ordnance program was precipitously announced to the Bureau: no consultations were held, no plans were made; and the move is being rushed through in a manner that reminds one of the movies' concept of how a great executive makes decisions.

An interesting sidelight on the transfer is the anticipated waste incident to it. Science Service, July 24, has estimated that operation by the Department of Defense will entail an additional cost to the government of a million dollars because facilities and administrative staffs now used jointly will have to be provided separately.

Science Service also notes the morale problem. The AD-X2 controversy, the tampering with the directorship, and the present transfer have certainly had a profound influence on the staff of the Bureau. The influence goes farther, however. The government, even in as fine a laboratory as the National Bureau of Standards with its 52 years' international reputation, has had difficulty in attracting the best young scientists and engineers, primarily because the government cannot compete financially with industry.

To this handicap there is now added the stigma that events of the last few months have attached to federal service. Why should a young scientist or engineer contemplate a career in the government when he can look forward not merely to less financial rewards but the threat of political interference in various forms? He cannot be sure, moreover, that the Administration and Congress have any understanding of or abiding interest in research.

Congress has revealed this lack of comprehension of the technical basis of our economy repeatedly in its budgetary actions where research has been concerned. And the man who controls the bulk of federal funds for research and development is the Secretary of Defense. Wilson has made clear that he is not interested in basic research: he doesn't care why potatoes turn brown on frying, he said to justify his stand against basic research. Conceptually, the attitudes of Weeks and Wilson are related in their lack of knowledge of and appreciation for science and the scientific method.

Defenders of Wilson will point to his apparently successful stewardship of General Motors, but Wilson's role has been largely one of Administration and any technical perception he may have is largely of a pragmatic engineering kind. The danger in his position in terms of scientific and technical progress can best be presented by quoting an example from an address by the physicist L. N. Ridenour:

> Suppose it had been desired in the year 1840 to improve indoor illumination. . . . There would have been studies of the optimum design of lamp chimneys, the effects of various fuels and wick materials, and finally there might have resulted a 20-percent improvement in the efficiency of lighting based on combustion. It would have been totally unthinkable to suppose that indoor illumination would be benefited by following up some investigations involving the immersion of dissimilar metals in acid, the waving of wires in the vicinity of magnets, or the application of electrodes to the muscles of the frog. Yet it was just these latter investigations that brought us our present mastery of the cheap, efficient, electric light.

COMBINED WITH the skeptical attitude toward basic research there is the attitude that as much research and development as possible, apparently without regard to the best interests of the country, should be turned over to industry. Pentagon talk has it that action pursuant to this policy will not be restricted to the Bureau or to other laboratories or agencies of the government, but will include a considerable portion of the contracts now let to universities.

Therefore, while specific events may appear confusing—whether we consider the handling of the AD-X2 matter or the transfer of the ordnance program—there is a simple and rational basis for every action that Weeks, Wilson and Kyes have taken. The basis is a conceptual one aptly apotheosized in Wilson's remark that what's good for General Motors is good for the country.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

A CRITIC'S FIRST PRINCIPLE

by Malcolm Cowley

A SMALL press in Los Altos, California, is republishing Kenneth Burke's early books and has started with *Counter-Statement* (1931), which was his first collection of critical writing. I doubt that there is an American author of our time whose out-of-print books offer more reasons for putting them back on display. Moreover, the right beginning has been made, since *Counter-Statement* introduces many of the ideas that would be developed in Burke's later writing, where they aren't always easy to follow. Sometimes that is because the ideas are difficult in themselves, but more often it is because they come forward in such variety and profusion, jostling one another on the page, that the reader is first exhilarated, then bewildered, as on his first visit to a crowded and vaguely foreign city. More simply conceived and simply written, *Counter-Statement* will give him a sense of direction.

COUNTER-STATEMENT, by Kenneth Burke (Hermes Publications; $3.50).

Although the book consists of seven essays that seem to deal with unrelated subjects, most of the essays are explanations or applications of the same critical principle. It is a principle that Burke discovered for himself when reading *Hamlet* and observing the complicated fashion in which Shakespeare prepared his audience for the appearance of the ghost. Wasn't this psychological manipulation of the audience the true *form* of the passage and indeed of the play as a whole? "Form in literature," Burke wrote, "is an arousing and fulfillment of desires. A work has form in so far as one part of it leads a reader to anticipate another part, to be gratified by the sequence." From that principle might follow a new system of aesthetics.

A first deduction from the principle is that works of art, from the formal point of view, might be regarded as complicated and sensitive machines for producing *effects* in the minds of their audience. But as soon as we make this deduction and find ourselves using the familiar word "effects," it becomes apparent that Burke's principle is not so completely new as it has seemed. "Effect," in the singular, was the favorite critical term of Edgar Allan Poe and he too regarded the work of literature as a sort of machine that operated on the emotions of the reader. The conception stands out clearly in the famous definition of the short story that Poe wrote in 1842:

> A skillful literary artist has constructed a tale. If wise, he has not fashioned his thoughts to accommodate his incidents; but having conceived, with deliberate care, a certain unique or single *effect* to be wrought out, he then invents such incidents—he then combines such events as may best aid him in establishing this preconceived effect. If his very initial sentence tend not to the outbringing of this effect, then he has failed in his first step. In the whole composition there should be no word written, of which the tendency, direct or indirect, is not to the one preestablished design. And by such means, with such care and skill, a picture is at length painted which leaves in the mind of him who contemplates it with a kindred art, a sense of the fullest satisfaction.

In "The Philosophy of Composition" Poe explained step by step how he had written "The Raven" to produce a certain single effect in the mind of the reader. Baudelaire greatly admired his explanation and translated it into French, though he hinted that it was not completely honest. "But after all," he said, "a little charlatanism is always permitted to genius, and is even proper to it. . . ." Mallarmé, not disturbed by the question of charlatanism, studied English so that he could read Poe in the original. His exploration of new poetic techniques was inspired by Poe's critical writing. In a first letter to Mallarmé the young Paul Valéry described himself as being "deeply infused with the profound doctrines of the great E. A. Poe—perhaps the subtlest artist of this century."

It is curious to note that Poe's doctrine of "effect," which depends on communication with the reader, was adopted by the French symbolist poets who were most esoteric and least concerned with communication. But the doctrine also had its influence on American writers who were more concerned with having their work understood. Hemingway, writing of his apprentice years, hints at a similar conception of what a story should do:

> I was trying to write then [he says at the beginning of *Death in the Afternoon*] and I found the greatest difficulty, aside from knowing truly what you really felt, rather than what you were supposed to feel, and had been taught to feel, was to put down what really happened in action; what the actual things were which produced the emotion that you experienced. In writing for a newspaper you told what happened and, with one trick and another, you communicated the emotion aided by the element of timeliness . . . ; but the real thing, the sequence of motion and fact which made the emotion and which would be as valid in a year or in ten years or, with luck and if you stated it purely enough, always, was beyond me and I was working very hard to try to get it.

In other words, if Hemingway found "the sequence of motion and fact" that had produced the emotion in himself, and set down the sequence in its pure outlines, his story would produce the same emotion in the reader. Once again the story was regarded as a machine for producing a certain single effect. With such examples before us we can see that Burke's definition of form in literature as "an arousing and fulfillment of desires" was based on the theory and practice of other writers for at least a century. His originality lay in making the definition so simple and direct, so much like a scientific law, that it became a basis for research into the mechanics of literary appeal.

In *Counter-Statement* and still more in his later books, Burke has contributed widely to that research by helping to reveal the hidden complexities of our language. There are scores of linguistic and stylistic questions on which he has cast new light: for example, he has written on the mimetic value of sounds; on inadvertent puns that betray an author's intentions; on "clusters" of images that

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do the same; on the naming of characters and how the names sometimes determine the characters; on the part played in poems by the poet's conception of the social hierarchy; on rituals of death and rebirth, or of the casting out of devils, that often appear in naturalistic novels; and on the dramatic devices that conceal themselves even in business documents and statistical tables. He calls his method "dramatism" and defines it as "a perspective that, being developed from the analysis of drama, treats language and thought primarily as modes of action." One can see how the method developed from the principle first announced in *Counter-Statement*.

In the critical field, dramatism has the great virtue of finding complexities in any work it singles out for attention, and of making the work more interesting than it had seemed on a casual reading. The new or intrinsic or ontological critics owe a considerable debt to Burke and his linguistic researches. But his method as they apply it to the analysis of texts—and even as Burke himself applies it—has the weakness of not providing us with critical judgments or standards of value.

In making this statement I continue an old argument with Burke, whose answer has always been that he isn't primarily a critic. He started from literary criticism (after writing two books of fiction), he has provided us with many brilliant examples of the critic's art; and yet the most brilliant of all the examples is possibly his essay on *Mein Kampf*, in which he explains Hitler's strategies of persuasion. In other words the quality of his attention does not depend on the literary greatness of his subject; and when his literary subject happens to be a great one, as in another brilliant essay, on *Venus and Adonis*, he may not even discuss the qualities that make it a masterpiece. He is more interested in mechanisms of appeal, as in the Hitler essay, and in the disguises of social attitudes, as in the *Venus and Adonis*. We could, however, go further and say that his real subject is man as a symbol-using animal. Since that is his definition of man—"specifically the symbol-using animal"—the subject leads him into a survey of all human activities that involve speech, and even of wordless activities that have a symbolic value. Instead of being a critic he is primarily a speculative philosopher, as ingenious and full of insights as any we now possess.

THE DRAGON OF GUILT

by Delmore Schwartz

IT IS likely enough that some readers may be put off by the mere and deceptive fact that Robert Penn Warren's new book is a narrative poem, "a tale in verse and voices." For it is true enough, in a misleading way, that the modern reader is no longer accustomed to reading books which are presented as narrative poems, however devoted he may be to modern poetry and fiction. Probably no author since Edwin Arlington Robinson has succeeded in winning the attention of the serious reader by efforts which were explicitly narrative poems, and certainly such long poems as *Four Quartets* and *Conquistador* are essentially lyrical and not narrative works. But the prevailing feeling that the narrative poem belongs to the past is entirely false, apart from surface appearance and nominal title. For when we read Faulkner, Joyce, Malraux, and Proust—when we read *Mme. Bovary*, as when we read Djuna Barnes' *Nightwood*—the nature of our attention as readers is and of necessity must be the kind of attention which narrative poetry has always required: an awareness of style, of tone, phrasing, rhythm, metaphor, and symbol, a consciousness of the texture of the writing as such which poetry has always required and narrative fiction in some of its purest forms—in Stendhal and Tolstoy—naturally and triumphantly excluded. Once this is kept in mind, Warren's poem will not seem to be a *tour de force* in an outmoded literary tradition, but a new realization of the dominant tendency of modern literature to be narrative poetry, no matter how often the works in question are entitled novels. It is also important to remember that Warren's previous poetry and fiction often seemed to aspire to the condition of narrative poetry.

BROTHER TO DRAGONS, by Robert Penn Warren (Random House; $3).

The subject of *Brother To Dragons* is the senseless killing of a Negro for the trivial offense of breaking a prized pitcher. Since the murder occurs in 1811, in Kentucky, and since all the characters except the poet himself have returned from the past and from death to agonize about the meaning of the crime, the universality and the modernity of the theme may not be immediately apparent. For the significance of the poem is certainly not limited to the South, nor to the relationship of white man and Negro, nor is it limited to America itself, although part of Warren's explicit intention is clearly to fix upon the death of the heart which occurs when violence transforms the American dream into a nightmare.

It is for this reason that Thomas Jefferson is present as a character. The murderer is Lilburn Lewis, his nephew and his sister's son, but the family relationship is less important than the relationship of the crime to Jefferson's image of America and of man. For it is the nature of man which is in question and in doubt, here as throughout Warren's work. The key recurrent word in all his work is *definition*, as the chief recurrent subject is violent brutality. And it is the brutality which leads to an absolute loss of definition and identity. For whether we think of lynchings or concentration camps—and the crime in Warren's poem is a symbol of both—we can hardly escape the state of mind which made Eliot write: "After such knowledge, what forgiveness?" and which made Malraux say: "Man is dead." Which is to say, once one has faced the actuality of human evil, how is it possible to believe truly in any human ideal and aspiration?

The characters of *Brother To Dragons* exist within the disillusion and despair of this question, striving and failing to answer it. But the poem does not depend upon an answer, but upon the courage of various confrontations of the question as something which must be faced and lived through on all levels of experience; the only answer is the courage of consciousness and the acceptance of guilt, the courage to live with the consciousness that we are all guilty.

In some of Warren's previous work, there was a gap between the ideas which concerned him and the experience upon which the ideas were focussed. The experience possessed a rich vividness which gave the ideas the appearance of being superimposed. But here there is perfect proportion throughout, and perhaps be-

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cause of Warren's mastery of a blank verse style of the utmost flexibility, a style which supports a great variety of reference, tone, and modulation, of colloquial speech, conceptual formulation, and narrative exposition without the least diminution of poetic power. Perhaps the most impressive passage is the sustained cadenza in which Meriweather Lewis suddenly appears to accuse Jefferson of having deceived him. But it is wrong to single out any passage as it would be misleading to quote from a work which is most remarkable as a sustained whole. The work as a whole makes one think of Warren's resemblance to Melville. There is the same natural eloquence, which sometimes becomes nothing but rhetoric; there is a gift for sheer narrative and a gift for passionate poetry, but the poet and the storyteller do not always unite; and there is the same obsession with guilt and innocence, and with nature as an inexhaustible threat to the human condition.

A DEDICATED LADY

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT is a dedicated humanitarian and her view of a political problem is usually composed of social and moral ingredients, offering up, as it were, a contribution to the values of Point Four and the United Nations. As a former UN delegate, she knows what she is after—and she proceeds to give us a warm survey of her far-flung journey into Point Four and the many other sore points currently facing the world of the East.

INDIA AND THE AWAKENING EAST, by Eleanor Roosevelt (Harper; $3).

In this book, which started out as a courtesy call on Prime Minister Nehru, Mrs. Roosevelt sets herself a goal—an examination of the social scourges enveloping the Middle East, Pakistan and India. En route, she called at Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, where she paused long enough to analyze the social and political soil of the backward Arab world, and her report does not skim over the harsh facts of reality. Prosperity can come when the Arab leaders decide that they can and will live in peace with the more modern state of Israel.

Leaving Jordan, Mrs. Roosevelt goes on a six-day fact-hunting safari in Israel, giving us a capsule review of what Israel has done and what she still faces. Sympathetic to Israel's goal, yet alert to all the human problems facing 800,000 Arab refugees, Mrs. Roosevelt places the solution into the hands of the irrational Arab League. Her facts are basic, for she sees things without the rosy glow of the accompanying propagandists. Poverty is not a religious necessity, nor does it cleanse the spirit. Water-power and modern means, she says, can do much more for man in the dry deserts than a continued feudal outlook, and she gets to the nub of the problem with expeditious charm and dignity.

The invitation to Pakistan, next on the investigator's itinerary, came from the All Pakistan Women's Association, offering Mrs. Roosevelt a chance to survey the role of women in the new political age of partitioned Pakistan. Partition from India brought with it many evils, splitting the economies of both countries into painful segments. India retained most of its physical assets but lost its farm lands, and Pakistan, a jute producing country, found the jute mills on the Indian side of the partition line. The balances, such as they were, were mostly religious and spiritual, for partition also divided the sub-continent's ability to defend itself against Communism. Also, two standing armies, each ready to war against the other, have eaten up resources that could have been put to better use. Yet Pakistan is growing, despite *purdah,* the Moslem code for calling women inferior beings.

Half of the book is devoted to India, for this was Mrs. Roosevelt's prime reason for her journey abroad. India, accused of being everything to everybody, has universal suffrage, a terrible infant mortality rate, and is in the trying position of acting as a buffer between Russia and the West. Mrs. Roosevelt trekked across India, saw the old and the very new, the country's progress and its poverty; but she plays it fair when she pays it out on both sides. The United States, she says, has inherited the criticism once placed against England, though ex-Ambassador Bowles did a yeoman's job in public relations. His children, wisely, went to an Indian school, cycling there, and the Ambassador went far and wide as a man of good-will, trying to help India develop democratic values.

India's two main problems, continues Mrs. Roosevelt, are still food and the ever-increasing population, enough to swamp a going country ever under the threat of neighboring Communism. The UN and American-financed agencies are working and planning to help make India self-sufficient and healthy, to stabilize the population, a problem that is as vast as it is real.

Mrs. Roosevelt's very human document joins with Governor Dewey's and succeeds in establishing a sound evaluation of the huge questions facing the East, adding to our common understanding of India's and America's roles today.

HARRY ROSKOLENKO

A LOST LADY

MR. NEVIUS has broken the spell. Because the Wharton papers are under seal at Yale until 1969, critics have shied away from a full-length study of the novels, on the supposition that so many connections between her private life and her fiction will be revealed hereafter that it is not worth the trouble to attempt anything at this date.

Mr. Nevius has gone bravely ahead without benefit of biography. His is an orderly book, moving from a consideration of "Edith Wharton Today" through a series of chapters each of which is built round a single novel or a group of related stories. He places Mrs. Wharton in the tradition of the novel of manners and has interesting things to say about the surprisingly naturalistic bias of much of her fiction.

EDITH WHARTON, *A Study of her Fiction,* by Blake Nevius (California; $3.75).

Of the major reasons for the present apathy towards the Wharton novels, Mr. Nevius could have said more. Many who try to read her now are put off by the Jamesian echoes in her work. This objection Mr. Nevius combats with some success. But there are more valid objections of which he does not take account. Many of the situations in James's novels are just as contrived as those one finds in Edith Wharton's fiction. But James transcends his plots, as she seldom does. With him the moral resolution is profound as well as subtle. With her the resolution merely accords with the "advanced" (though never radical) morality of her time.

Further, James gives his developed situations symbolic meanings of which she is incapable. The posed dilemma at the end of *The Reed* is mildly exciting, even now, but the resolution of it is so

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much a Whartonian prescription that the modern reader wonders how he has been tricked into following the novel to this point.

How different the case with James' *The Spoils of Poynton*. The plot is quite as contrived as that of *The Reed*. The destruction of Poynton by fire is far more melodramatic than Anna Leath's conclusive visit to the tawdry bedroom of Sophy's sister, but how right James' symbolic fire is—the symbolic climax in a series of spoliations which have consumed the humanity of nearly every character in the novel.

In other words, compared with James's fiction, Mrs. Wharton's has little timbre. She sounds continuously a strong but rather monotonous diapason. She fails to convince us by her tone that human relations are unresolvedly mysterious.

Her fiction suffers further from the fact that her morality ("moral sensibility" as Mr. Nevius calls it, *à la mode*) is conveyed by the manners of her characters. But the manners he depicts with fidelity happen not to be those which our generation delights in. When she is read now, it is because she is, as Mr. Nevius says, "the only American novelist who has dealt successfully with that feudal remainder in New York society which hardly survived the beginning of the present century." But we are more likely to quarrel with Newland Archer's supinity than to be amused by his cynicism. We do not delight in the follies of her characters as we do in the manners we find in *Mansfield Park* or *Barchester Towers*.

It may be that a revolution in taste will change all this, but it begins to look as if Pussie Jones is fated to rest in the shadow of the Master and of those novelists of manners who still give us the delight her novels cannot longer give. WILLARD THORP

BOOKS IN BRIEF

TEN BURNT OFFERINGS, by Louis MacNeice (Oxford; $2.50).

The ten long poems which make up Mr. MacNeice's new collection are similar to Mr. Eliot's *Quartets* in that each is an elaborate development of a single idea and, in structure, divided into sections which contrast both in style and technique. The cumulative effect of the MacNeice poems is one of virtuosic brilliance. If the poems have any single defect, it is that perfection of surface which tends to conceal profundity.

Profundity, however, is there, particularly in the magnificent poem called "Aereopagus." There is also whimsy of the tenderest kind in a poem, not too suggestive of Old Possum, on the death of a cat. These offerings are a major accomplishment of their author.

THE STORY OF THE METROPOLITAN OPERA, by Irving Kolodin (Knopf; $7.50).

Mr. Kolodin's learned history of the Metropolitan begins with a very funny description of the founding of that theatre by a group of snubbed and furious rich folk some seventy years ago. The body of his book is a detailed account of what has happened there since that date—what works were performed, what divas dived, and what the critics thought. R. E.

RECENT FRENCH PAINTING

by Kermit Lansner

THE DOMINANCE of abstraction, in all its forms, is the most striking feature of recent French painting.

At the moment, the most consistent painters are those who have made a program of abstraction. The younger ones are involved in its philosophy and contentious about its logic. They have no truck with subject matter and regard painting as a spiritual pursuit which consists in the arrangement of forms and colors. This group is the nearest thing to a movement in Paris today, although it has none of the searching originality which distinguished the major movements of modern art.

The work of these painters, if we can imagine some ideal canvas which will sum it all up, is flat and neat. The straight line and ruled curve are everywhere in evidence, bounding, geometrical forms. Occasionally the clean organic shapes which Arp often uses appear. There is little expressiveness of line and no cultivation of the riches of material so dear to the French tradition. The best of this painting is impressively monumental, and several of the painters have begun to work large—in preparation, I suspect, for the decoration of public walls. Although the aesthetic of abstraction implies an unlimited range of possibilities for new ideas, any large exhibition of this painting seems remarkably uniform, as if it were the product of communal enterprise. Magnelli, a Florentine, is the strongest painter who works in this style; Pillet, Dewasne, Vasarely, Poliakoff and Deyrolle are a few of the others who follow this program of abstraction.

Although the work derives from Cubism, it owes much to other abstract styles which are foreign to France. Consequently there has been a healthy renewal of interest in such painters as Kandinsky, Mondrian, Malevitch and Klee. Of the work of the modern French masters, the large canvases which Leger painted in the twenties are most closely related to the paintings of this group.

A great fluidity and delicacy can be found in the art of Hartung and Schneider. They both handle space in Cubist fashion, but their inspiration is more emotional and their execution more spontaneous. They use a variety of generalized calligraphic motifs, some like fragments of penmanship exercises which were once common in grade schools, brushed on with softness and precision. Their color is suave and luminous and they have been able to paint small pictures which combine the suggestion of carefully constructed space with a personal immediacy which is lacking in the more formal abstractionists. This is a subtle art of organized transience.

Holding the center of French painting is a fairly large group of painters who have veered to neither of the poles of abstraction. They remain deeply involved in the French tradition and still retain their attachment to the subject, attenuated as it may be, as well as their passion for fine painting. Most of these men have been known for some time as they worked through the influences of Picasso and Matisse. They stand now as the first names in French painting behind the aging masters, having attained, these past few years, to some firmness of style which promises to persist. There is nothing radical about their work to eyes which are accustomed to modern painting. It has a substance and finish which results from the attempt to combine abstraction with impressionism. In particular, these painters have concentrated upon the creation of light

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through color. Their designs are carefully fragmented; small areas of color are juxtaposed to create the illusion of intense light. Abstraction is used as one approach among several and these painters have not been put off by the charge that they are illogical in combining traditions.

Bazaine constructs his paintings as if they were mosaics; brilliant bits of color are arranged in larger patterns of vigorous rhythms. Manessier and Singier paint pictures of haunting luminosity in which volume and composition in depth are sacrificed to the delights of color and paint. Esteve and Le Moal must be mentioned, while Pignon, long regarded as one of the most promising painters, remains closer to the subject which he paints with a strong sense of composition.

In his late forties, Tal Coat has passed through the usual influences. Now, painting in Cézanne's own country, he has reduced its technique to the barest indications of color and stroke. It is hard to believe that he can long remain in his present style which attempts to abstract the essence of landscape by the mere suggestion of mountains, trees and rivers. His paintings have several overtones. They are reminiscent of some of the watercolors of Cézanne and of fragments of Chinese landscape painting; and were they not tied to the subject, of the lyrical improvisations which Kandinsky painted around 1911. Masson, who has been a minor virtuoso during the past thirty years has also turned to nature; his figures, and landscapes are seen through a diaphanous haze of Renoir colors.

TWO GREAT BOOKS by GIOVANNI VERGA

"Verga is one of the masters of modern literature." —*New York Times*

THE HOUSE BY THE MEDLAR TREE
Translated by Eric Mosbacher
$3.00

LITTLE NOVELS OF SICILY
Translated by D. H. Lawrence
$3.50

GROVE PRESS
795 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

I have only spoken of an art which is calm and ordered, however diverse it may be. There has been little in French painting since the war which is comparable in spirit to the extremity, violence and anguish which have characterized much of the literature of contemporary France. Though the influence of Picasso can be seen at every turn, it is primarily his techniques of construction or certain mannerisms which have been followed and rarely the powerful expression of his later styles. There are a few small signs that a painting of extremes is beginning to attract attention in Paris.

During the past few years there have been several shows of work which has little precedent in the French tradition. No catch-all phrase can suggest the different manifestations of this painting; no aesthetic has been developed for it. At the moment it includes the work of Dubuffet, vehement images related to the art of children and the insane, laid on with great thickness of matter and paint, as well as the work of a young painter like Riopelle. At first glance his paintings seem to be similar to those of Jackson Pollock. But they are not made up of a maze of lines of high, glistening color, but of a profusion of strokes and daubs, earthy encrustations which cover the canvas from side to side, rising and falling upon the surface as they form into many smaller patterns. Other painters have used Klee-like motifs; some have used the canvas as a stop for a vehement gesture in paint.

This kind of painting defies both the tradition of craftsmanship and the ordered arrangement of the abstract artists who are primarily interested in the construction of the picture. It is too early to predict what influence this type of expressionism will have upon French art.

Most of the painters I have mentioned are in their forties and fifties. They were born under the sign of Cubism and grew up in the shadow of the masters who created the major style of modern art. Picasso, Braque, Leger, Delaunay and the others were in their early thirties when they painted some of their most impressive pictures. When we compare the age of artistic maturity of these two generations it is evident how long and difficult has been the struggle of the younger men to achieve the confidence of style. Small wonder that there is little which is strikingly new about their work.

SOPHISTICATION RETAIL

by Parker Tyler

TO CONSIDER the French film is to consider, by and large, our most sophisticated cinema—and by "sophistication" I mean all that the word implies: the French can get away with a technical sloppiness or cheapness by sheer élan and the kind of impudence and laissez-faire that comes from consciously careless superiority. Gerard Philipe, an actor of exceptional charm under any flag (his most distinguished film role was the hero of Radiguet's *The Devil in the Flesh*) acts in Racine at the Comédie Française, as does Jean Marais, also a film star. One detects in Philipe's semi-grotesque barker, who introduces and supposedly relates the fables of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, an authority that comes of a width of professional as well as of private and social experience. I suppose it will not sound pretentious to say that cinematic techniques and literary sources notwithstanding, the chief ornament of the French film is the French face with its deep and dauntless look into all the places of human nature.

The Italian contributions to *The Seven Deadly Sins* ("Avarice and Anger," combined, and "Envy") are curiously unsophisticated, whereas even the "Sloth" of the French, a little fantasy almost *betise* in its tricky obviousness, has a knowing air that Rossellini's rendering of Colette's shrewd vignette, "Envy," misses. One might call it style, except that style is the most difficult element of a film work to achieve, more so than in other arts, and for this reason its problem discourages serious commerce with artistic premises in films. It is as though the French start by assuming this handicap, and since no one —except perhaps, sometimes, Cocteau and Renoir—strives for style, a certain style appears from the conscious lack of effort toward it. Maybe, indeed, this is the specific definition of French sophistication. The short-short verve of "Gluttony," its point like a pinprick of the intelligence, the easy and open, yet quite dry, sentiment of "Pride," and the Zolaesque lyricism (yes!) of "Lust" are all done with the Devil's knowledge of mankind. Yet as we know from the Eighth or Unknown Sin tacked on at the end, the Devil is no longer to be taken so seriously as the traditional conception of sin demands. The Eighth Sin, if you please, is "belief in evil appear-

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ances." It is typical French *blague* and a joyous commentary on evil itself as an ethical "style." The whole film is obviously without relation to evil except indirectly.

Gerard Philipe also plays the hero of *Fanfan the Tulip*, a kind of folk hero temperamentally allied to D'Artagnan and the medieval figure of the Fool. The work is something of a spoof on romantic adventure costume-films and as such must any audience with brains take it. Yet, were *Fanfan* not a certain assertion of volatile spirits, it would be intolerably corny and coarse. The nation of Moliére persists in loving self-interested, simple-minded scoundrels and in this creamy little piece we have a subjective fantasy of Sagnarelle's. Perhaps the only vulgarity is unthinking repetition but the French are far too amused not to be amusing. Their euthanasia-based crime film, *Justice Is Done*, turned into a complex trial film, brilliantly put together, and though there was something un-French in the piously accented concern for "justice" via the jury's verdict, it was simply more *sensible* than any trial film I know about.

Something far from sensible, as art, and only paradoxically so as social observation, was the climax given the film *Forbidden Games*, about which I wrote in the February ninth issue of this magazine. At that time, I did not know how radically the novel's ending had been changed for the screen. In the novel, the little boy is killed by falling off the church roof while trying to steal a cross big enough to suit a cow's grave. The little girl then successfully completes the theft and, burying the little boy's corpse, plants the cross at the head of his grave. Such a climax makes aesthetic consonance with the preceding development of the story. The film's ending, on the other hand, is a piece of "interested" arbitrariness. Could the French makers have been thinking of the mass audiences of Britain and America? I complained of the film's moral pessimism, which made sentimentality out of its archetypal tragic drama. I now complain of its perversity and of what may be also the avarice of its makers. Avarice may not be a deadly sin in France but perhaps, there as elsewhere, it is a deadly virtue.

Cocteau's "myth movies," the last of which was the full-scale philosophic statement of *Orpheus*, have distilled a kind of perfume of modern techniques in literature, theatre, and film. *The Strange Ones* of last year had as its theme the first sprouts of theatricalism in the adolescent: the rank, dramatized narcissism of a race of aesthetes whose one "action-plot" is incest. Cocteau's film is an art dominated by the love death legend conceived as a playground in which the aesthete consorts with his bourgeois neighbors also condemned to the ghosts that Freud made flesh. Cocteau's quasi-Surrealist style, born of promiscuous wit rather than artistic necessity, made it easy to render the bourgeois tempest-in-a-teacup, *The Storm Within*, valid and moving. The gypsy picturesqueness that crept into that movie's matriarch is not facetious but a perfectly sound social observation. It was just high *blague* (and part of the incorrigibly sincere and desperate tenderness of modern French sensibility) for Cocteau to have declaimed at the end that his gypsy "has no home on earth," so "the caravan moves on!" Of course, he means the White Goddess in her contemporary diurnal aspect. This is first-rate mythifying. It is much better than the total effect of *Orpheus*, where Cocteau encased his sophisticated modern magic in the popular happy-ending formula of the mass art. So doing, he parodied his own play. Perhaps Cocteau's game of wits with a commercial art has led him to overestimate his prowess. *Orpheus* contained a bad misstep. It was a fine-art boner. Perhaps in Paris one can successfully conceal the old-fashioned devices of ghoulish melodramas, of which the "mystery house" is one and the "merciless vampire" another, because the French themselves possess an ironic dimension on such things, having absorbed Eugene Sue and the Grand Guignol into the cultural consciousness. But in sheer objectivity, *Orpheus* was an attempt to substitute sophistication wholesale for art retail. *The Seven Deadly Sins* is a kind of chamber art, and there sophistication is, as it should be, modestly retail.

Notes on the Critics

Poet DELMORE SCHWARTZ is an editor of *Partisan Review*. HARRY ROSKOLENKO is a writer on Far-Eastern affairs. WILLARD THORP teaches at Princeton. PARKER TYLER'S play *The Screen* was recently produced in New York. KERMIT LANSNER'S criticism of Modern Painting frequently appears in this magazine.

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by RALPH L. ROY

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From Our Readers

► A Danger to Defense

It is curious to me that opponents of Defense Secretary Wilson's policy of centralizing defense production in fewer, more specializing factories, have not mentioned the recent Livonia, Mich., fire as an example of a disadvantage of this system.

I realize that such an argument would ignore other reasons against Wilson's policy but it would seem to me to be timely. Not only is the Livonia transmission production severely curtailed, but Oldsmobile and Pontiac and subsidiary plants here in Lansing, and presumably elsewhere, have been forced to cut back production substantially. By substituting other types of transmissions, some inferior, General Motors will be able to maintain a certain percentage of production. If an accident could cause this much loss of production efficiency now, what would be the loss in a wartime tight-machinery situation. This does not even consider possible loss from stray aerial bombardment.

This is really intended as a suggestion, but I would also be interested in knowing why this argument has not been prominently mentioned heretofore. I suppose there is a certain reluctance to exploit a disaster but surely this can be overcome.

Lansing, Mich. ALBERT M. LILLIFORS

► Miller vs. Hiss

Merle Miller's answer to Felix Albert's letter regarding Lord Jowett's book is indeed curious. I so categorically disagree with perhaps everything Mr. Miller has ever said that I'm tempted to write pages of vitriol; but in rebuking him, I'm afraid he would say I was enhancing Alger Hiss' martyrdom. I find this insensitivity perplexing.

Mr. Miller is stuck in the schizophrenic mire which has enticed many others of similar intellectual bent. They find themselves agreeing with so many of McCarthy's views that it is for this reason they remind us that they are also against him. Mr. Miller seems to realize that his emotional feelings about Alger Hiss are identical with McCarthy's: and at the same time tells us we must fight McCarthy. Strange indeed!

For it is precisely the era of McCarthyism that has sent Hiss to jail and made Chambers the darling of the age. I do not underestimate McCarthy but he moved into a going concern and Mr. Miller knows it. That some of the best legal minds in both England and America have so many doubts about the affair makes Mr. Miller's remarks about Hiss irrelevant and fatuous. Further, it makes Mr. Miller appear ridiculous to the extreme.

New York City ROBERT E. REARDON

Mr. Merle Miller's review and ill-tempered rebuttal of *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss* illustrate as well as anything I have yet seen on the complete bankruptcy of the pro-Chambers forces; and it does not make me happy to find such a disgraceful exhibit on coming from one who in the past has built up a reputation as a libertarian.

In an earlier review of *Seeds of Treason* Mr. Miller even went so far as to say that by selecting other pieces of evidence than those used by Toledano and Lasky one could give the impression that Hiss was a greatly wronged man; at that time he based his belief in Hiss' guilt on the documents. Since the new evidence discovered by defense counsel and Lord Jowitt's analysis of the internal testimony of the papers themselves demolishes this line of argument, we have the amazing postulation that actions of innocence are substantial indications of guilt. Indeed, outside of furious tirade against Mr. Hiss on the assumption that he must have been guilty, this remains the sole basis of criticism; but, as Mr. Albert deals adequately with this point, I need not comment except to say that this compares well with Senator McCarthy's charge that James Wechsler secretly authored attacks on himself in Communist publications.

If we are to believe the sworn testimony of Joseph Greene, which the government did not challenge, Hiss must be innocent; and none of the Chambers camp-followers dares discuss this crucial point. Neither can they explain away the fact that all but one of the persons Chambers called upon to give direct corroboration to his story appeared as witnesses for the defense, while that one witness, the maid, Edith Murray, is now impeached by unshakable affidavits. There can be only one explanation for this. . . .

Hayesville, Ohio ROGER N. PARRIS

I have read the letter from Mr. Felix Albert about Mr. Miller's review of *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss.*

Being one who never felt that the government had made out a case against Hiss the book made me firmer in my belief.

It does not appear that the Chamber's testimony had any corroboration but it does appear that Chambers remembered every alias he had used as a Communist except Crosley the name by which he was known to Hiss. This is significant since Chambers' memory appeared letter perfect in every other instance.

Anybody could have had access to the typewriter and espionage agents destroy all their evidence while in this case, if I read aright, the typewriter was discovered by the defense.

The whole case seems woefully weak to me. . . .

Philadelphia, Pa. B. L. BUCKLEY

► Madame Akhmatova

In your issue of August 24 you tell a story about the Russian poetess, Madame

(Continued on page 23)

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"Lifting of Rent Controls Makes Little Difference in Rantoul-Chanute Area
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Of Low-Rent Units,
Official Report." — *Headline in Champaign-Urbana (Illinois)* Courier, *Aug. 28, 1953.*

Foreign-Aid Chief Harold E. Stassen demonstrated Wednesday that intelligence test scores don't necessarily mean success or failure for his agency's employes. He demoted one worker who outscored him. — *From U. P. Dispatch in the Salt Lake City* Tribune, *August 27, 1953.*

"The group of commentators heard each week on WABC offer a wide variety of opinion. Some are to the Right and some are Middle of the Road, but all have complete liberty to say what they please." — *Announcer for George Sokolsky, WABC New York, August 30, 1953.*

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To Our Readers

The country's business at Washington is conducted in an odor of dead and dying cigars suspended in steam heat. Out-of-doors Washington is widely planned and men might move about it thinking for a nation. But in the halls of Congress, in the committee rooms, the air is warm and foul. It drags upon you until you wilt and your head swims. And the faces of men testifying grow hazy. In the mean atmosphere so like the corridor of a cheap hotel is an invitation to relax and grow bored and cease to care. You slouch in your seat, you dawdle through your business compressed and dull and discouraged. Tepid, tired air it is in which vision dies.

That description of a Washington summer was written by Walter Lippmann and published in the *NR* in 1916. Believe me, in 47 years it hasn't changed.

* * *

Why did the newspaper editors conclude that the press is not endangered by McCarthy's attacks? The simplest answer was given by the Charleston *News and Courier* which claims the proud title: *South Carolina's most outspoken newspaper.* Its editorial began: "In the battle of McCarthy and the press the *News and Courier stands neutral.* Senator McCarthy has not interfered with our freedom. We do not feel obliged as a fellow journalist to come running to the aid of those with whom he is tangling." German publishers said just that.

* * *

To go on with our survey; we asked: *In what size community do you live?*

7 percent answered, rural or farm; 26 percent in towns less than 10,000; 32 percent in cities from 10,000 to 100,000; 18 percent in cities from 100,000 to 500,000; 18 percent in cities over 500,000.

What are your forms of recreation?

93 percent answered *reading*; 55 percent, *classical music*; 42 percent, *gardening*; 42 percent, *theatre*; 294 readers (including myself) added *bird-watching.*

Do you buy records?

57 percent of our readers buy classical records; 18 percent buy popular records.

What do you drink?

49 percent of our readers answered *wine*; 48 percent, *whiskey*; 47 percent, beer.

How many people read your NR?

17 percent said *only one*; 43 percent answered *two*; 19 percent, *three*; 9 percent, *four*; 8 percent, from 5 to 31 readers.

M. S.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 22)

Anna Akhmatova, which you attribute to me. I do not recognize the facts in the form in which you state them. I have heard the story of Madame Akhmatova and Stalin, but only as a piece of casual gossip; I understand Madame Akhmatova to possess a portrait by Modigliani, but the statements you report as having been made about him by her were never communicated to me. I am not concerned with the reliability of the story, but merely to make clear that I am not its source, and that the greater portion of it is as new to me as it must be to the majority of your readers.

Oxford, England ISAIAH BERLIN

► Space Well Spent

How right you are in giving so freely of your space to the utterances of George Kennan and Adlai Stevenson. Among political leaders, they are easily first, with the rest far in the rear. Every reader is in your debt for your discriminating publication of their addresses. By all means, keep it up

Seattle, Wash. BENJAMIN H. KIZER

► Liberalism and H-Bombs

Am I dreaming, or am I awake and reading, by mistake, a Hearst paper instead of the *NR?*

The page editorial on Malenkov and the hydrogen bomb in the August 17 issue was neither liberal nor sensible. It must have amazed and shocked most of your readers. You are calling for an immediate and tremendous civil-defense program and accusing the Eisenhower Administration of commonplace, drifting and indifference to national security. You are aware, of course, of the staggering budget, the crazy tax system, the fear of another slump and depression. You are also aware of the fact that 93 percent of the people, according to the Gallup Institute, have paid no attention to the pleas and appeals of the Civil Defense Administration and have attended to their business, their recreations and their normal social life. Artificial panics have failed, and will fail again. Russia is *not* preparing for war, can gain nothing by war, cannot afford a war with the US, and the Kremlin is not an insane asylum.

We need no such program as you hysterically demand. We could *reduce* our present bloated budget by additional billions and revise our unfair and inequitable tax system.

Absolute security is impossible. Reasonable security *we already have.* Russia knows what a sudden bomb attack by her would entail in the form of reprisals. Our stockpile of A-bombs would destroy a dozen or more of her industrial and cultural centers. She would not, and could not, take such desperate risks.

Leave to Hearst and the warmongers the sort of silly and puerile propaganda your editorial exemplified, and give us rational liberalism and horse sense.

La Jolla, Calif. VICTOR S. YARROS

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